

Message Text

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INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 071044 TOSEC 030143

GENEVA FOR ASST. SECRETARY MAYNES

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UNSC, SF

SUBJECT: ADDITION TO THE BRIEFING PAPERS FOR MEETINGS
WITHGERMAN, BRITISH AND FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTERS: SOUTHERN
AFRICAN ISSUES AT THE UN

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM TOUSSAINT, ACTING, AND SEELYE, ACTING
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1. AMBASSADOR YOUNG HAS PROVIDED YOU WITH THE KEY CABLES
RELATING TO THE CONTINUING SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING ON
SOUTH AFRICA AND CONSULTATIONS ON THE PLANNED FIVE-POWER
DEMARCHE TO SOUTH AFRICA ON NAMIBIA. THERE FOLLOWS A
SHORT SUMMARY/ANALYSIS OF WHERE WE NOW STAND AND SUGGESTED
TALKING POINTS FOR YOUR USE WITH THE GERMAN, BRITISH AND

FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTERS THIS WEEK.

2. BACKGROUND/ANALYSIS: THE AFRICANS HAVE RESPONDED POSITIVELY TO OUR SUGGESTION FOR A DRAFT DECLARATION ON SOUTHERN AFRICA. THEY HAVE SUBMITTED A COUNTER PROPOSAL TO THE DRAFT WORKED OUT BY THE FIVE WESTERN DELEGATIONS LAST WEEK. ALTHOUGH POINTS IN THE AFRICAN DRAFT REQUIRE SOME NEGOTIATION, WE ARE ENCOURAGED THAT THE AFRICANS HAVE NOT INJECTED EXCESSIVE RHETORIC NOR MENTION OF CHAPTER VII. THE AFRICANS WISH TO COVER THE DECLARATION WITH A RESOLUTION WHICH TAKES NOTE OF THE FOUR DRAFT RESOLUTIONS THEY HAVE PREPARED AND CALLS FOR A FURTHER SC

MEETING ON OR BEFORE JUNE 7. AT THIS WRITING THE AFRICANS APPEAR TO WANT TO WORK OUT A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE DECLARATION AND TO GIVE THE WEST, AND ESPECIALLY THE NEW ADMINISTRATION, AN OPPORTUNITY TO BRING ABOUT CHANGE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. THE HOPE IN NEW YORK IS TO ADOPT A DECLARATION BY THURSDAY NIGHT, WHILE ANDY YOUNG IS STILL PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

3. A KEY TO OBTAINING AFRICAN AGREEMENT TO SUPPORT A DECLARATION AND AVOID PUTTING THE FOUR RESOLUTIONS THEY HAVE DRAFTED TO A VOTE IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL IS WESTERN WILLINGNESS TO MOVE AHEAD ON THE FIVE-POWER DEMARCHE TO SOUTH AFRICA ON NAMIBIA. THE FIVE DELEGATIONS HAVE NOW TENTATIVELY AGREED THAT THE DEMARCHE SHOULD BE MADE BY THE FIVE WESTERN AMBASSADORS IN CAPETOWN TO PRIME MINISTER VORSTER AT LATEST ON APRIL 5. CONFIDENTIAL

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THE DEMARCHE WOULD BE REINFORCED BY PRESENTATIONS TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN AMBASSADOR/OR CHARGE IN EACH OF THE FIVE WESTERN CAPITALS.

4. THE BRITISH, FRENCH AND WEST GERMANS HAVE BEEN WORKING CLOSELY WITH ANDY YOUNG IN NEW YORK ON THE DRAFT DECLARATION AND DEMARCHE. AT THE SAME TIME, THEY HAVE MADE CLEAR TO US IN WASHINGTON THAT THEY ARE NOT PREPARED TO MOVE AS FAR AS CHAPTER VII ACTION AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA ON EITHER NAMIBIA OR SOUTH AFRICA'S APARTHEID POLICIES. (YOU WILL RECALL THAT THE FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER WROTE TO YOU PERSONALLY ABOUT THIS) THE THREE GOVERNMENTS ARE UNDER PRESSURE FROM BUSINESS AND POLITICAL CIRCLES AND ARE CONCERNED THAT MOVING TO CHAPTER VII WILL LEAD IN TIME TO DEMANDS FOR ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AND INTERFERE IN IMPORTANT TRADE RELATIONS AND INVESTMENT WITH SOUTH AFRICA. THEIR JUSTIFICATION, HOWEVER, FOR NOT WISHING TO MOVE AS FAR AS CHAPTER VII ON NAMIBIA IS THAT THEY DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THE SITUATION

THERE CONSTITUTES A "THREAT TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY." WE HAVE NOT AS YET CHOSEN TO CONTEST THEIR POSITION ON NAMIBIA OR TO POINT OUT TO THEM THAT IT WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT TO SUSTAIN A POSITION THAT THE CONTINUED PRESENCE OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS IN NAMIBIA (A TERRITORY WHICH DOES NOT BELONG TO SOUTH AFRICA) CONSTITUTES ANYTHING OTHER THEN A THREAT TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY.

5. NEVERTHELESS, OUR INITIATIVE TO DEVELOP A DECLARATION, WHICH PROMISES TO BE SUCCESSFUL, WILL SUCCESSFULLY PUT OFF FOR AT LEAST SEVERAL MONTHS THE CHAPTER VII ISSUE. WE BELIEVE THAT YOUR OBJECTIVES IN DISCUSSING THE MATTER WITH

YOUR GERMAN, BRITISH AND FRENCH COUNTERPARTS SHOULD BE TO REASSURE THEM OF OUR DESIRE TO WORK TOGETHER ON SOUTHERN AFRICA BUT AT THE SAME TIME TO MAKE CLEAR THAT THE

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DECLARATION IS NOT A SUBSTITUTE FOR ACTION BUT A FRAME-
WORK FOR FUTURE ACTION.

6. SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS:

-- FROM LATEST REPORTS, IT SEEMS THAT OUR DELEGATIONS IN NEW YORK ARE IN THE PROCESS OF SUCCESSFULLY NEGOTIATING A DECLARATION ON SOUTHERN AFRICA AND ARE WELL ADVANCED IN THEIR PLANNING FOR A FIVE POWER DEMARCHE TO SOUTH AFRICA ON NAMIBIA AND FOR FOLLOWING UP THE DEMARCHE.

-- IT IS IMPORTANT TO RECOGNIZE THAT THE DECLARATION IS NOT A SUBSTITUTE FOR ACTION. WE WILL HAVE TO MOVE FORWARD WITH THE DEMARCHE AND THEREAFTER JOINTLY TO WORK WITH THE SOUTH AFRICANS TO ACHIEVE AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE ARRANGEMENT ON NAMIBIA. IN OUR VIEW, SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT CAN ONLY BE ON THE BASIS OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 385.

-- TIME IS SHORT AND WE WILL HAVE TO BE QUITE FIRM WITH SOUTH AFRICA. FAILURE TO DEVELOP AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION ON NAMIBIA INEVITABLY WILL CONFRONT US WITH VERY STRONG PRESSURES FROM THE REST OF AFRICA AND, CONSEQUENTLY, WITH SOME VERY DIFFICULT CHOICES.

7. THESE SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS REPLACE THOSE IN YOUR BRIEFING MEMO PARAGRAPH 5A ON SOUTHERN AFRICA.

CHRISTOPHER

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